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How Intolerance is Practiced by School Students in a Rural Area in Bogor, West Java, Indonesia: Case Study of Sukamaju Village

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Abstract

Of all the state problems faced by Indonesia since the downfall of New Order regime under Soeharto in May 1998, intolerance has been perhaps the most enduring. In addition, intolerance is identified to have been practiced in rural areas. Ironically, in many parts of the archipelago young people are also identified to be involved in some intolerant actions. This paper will examine the how intolerance is practised among the youth in Sukamaju Village, Bogor, West Java-Indonesia by identifying the context of the characteristics of the school students, the tolerance behaviour towards friends, and how intolerance is practiced by students of religious-based schools and regular schools. Applying descriptive-correlational survey and probability random sampling as well as Cultural Studies approach, 142 students of religious-based schools and regular based schools were taken as samples of this research. The finding reveals that affectively the school students are tolerant, but are less tolerant for several aspects such as playing with non-Muslim friends, electing a non-Muslim leader, and sharing opinions with non-Muslim friends. Additionally, students of regular-schools were found to be more tolerant than those of religious-based schools.

Keywords: Bogor; Intolerance; Village; Youth; Bogor

Introduction

Since the downfall of New Order regime in 1998, intolerance has appeared to be one of the state problems in Indonesia. At the same time, many Islamic mass organizations such as *Front Pembela Islam* (FPI), *Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia* (HTI), *Laskar Jihad*, *Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia* (MMI) and other similar organizations emerged and began to intensively promote their Islamic values. In addition, these organizations are also known to be subversive and militant that they will become intolerant and attack whoever is against their Islamic ideology. This occurred because Islamic political parties and organizations had to endure Soeharto's hostile policies toward Islam (Budiman, 2008). In his era, for example, *hijab* was prohibited especially in public educational settings because it would be associated with the Islamic revolution in Iran which was led by Khomeini in 1980s (Hasanudin, 2017). Only in 1991 was the ban lifted (Yulius, 2016).

Since then, religious intolerance has become an increasingly serious problem in the country. In recent years, there have been numerous acts of religious intolerance against minority religious groups such as the dispute of Indonesian Christian Church Bogor in 2002, the violence against *Ahmadiyah* adherents in 2005, the hate campaign against local Shiite Muslims in Madura in 2012 and so forth (Djafar, 2018). Another act of religious intolerance was the case of blasphemy done by the former governor of Jakarta, Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (also known as Ahok) in 2016. He was accused of blasphemy for saying that his political opponents were using the Quranic verse to encourage Muslims to vote against the non-Muslim candidates. A few months later, he lost his reelection bid, was charged with blasphemy, and ended up in prison for two years.

As the world's most populous Muslim majority-country, Indonesia has long been known for its multicultural society as well as its moderate interpretations of Islam. Yet, due to many acts of religious intolerance against minority group which were identified in many parts of the country, Indonesia gains international attention and its reputation for religious tolerance is also questioned. Research by Setara Institute in 2018 found that ten cities including Tanjungbalai, Banda Aceh, Jakarta, Cilegon, Padang, Depok, Bogor, Makassar, Medan, and Sabang were categorized as the most intolerant city in the country (SETARA INSTITUTE for Democracy and Peace, 2018). Additionally, A report by Wahid Foundation in 2016 revealed that acts of intolerance occurred in several provinces such as in East Kalimantan, West Java, and Jakarta.

This research will focus on finding out how intolerance is practiced by the youth of *Sukamaju* (due to ethical codes the real name of the village will be changed into other name) Village, Bogor, West Java-Indonesia. According to study by Setara Institute, Bogor ranks one of the most intolerant cites in Indonesia. The label was given due to several acts of religious intolerance done by its people. One of several acts of religious intolerance is the case of Indonesian Church Yasmin. Until now, the community has been struggling to gain legal permission from the local government to build the church (Sirait, 2019). Additionally, in line with the local government, the local Muslims were also against the church building. The Human Right Watch documented that the former Indonesian president, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, had created discriminatory regulations which facilitated religious violence. Therefore, this might be one of the many reasons why religious intolerance increases (Harsono, 2020). Another act of religious intolerance in this rain city is the prohibition of Shiite Holy Day of Ashura which was officially supported by the Mayor (Yustinus, 2015).

The paper will also elaborate how intolerance is practiced by young people, specifically in *Sukamaju* Village, Bogor. It is important to give attention to young people as they are potential people to be recruited by radical groups to spread their intolerant ideologies. In recent years, there have been several cases which indicate that young people are involved in the act of religious intolerance. In anti-Ahok rally, children were mobilized in political movements against the non-Muslim leaders. In 2018, four children were involved in suicide bombings in Surabaya. Alius (2019) stated that adolescent young were highly susceptible to be exposed to intolerant and radical ideologies. He said that two teenagers aged 16 and 17 were reported to have been involved in bomb attack at church congregation in Samarinda in 2016. National Counterterrorism Agency's data in 2017 showed that 52 percent of terrorists were young people aged 17 to 34 (Alius, 2019).

Research conducted by the Institute for Islam and Peace Studies in 2011 in more that 50 schools showed that the students were intolerant. At least, 52 percent of students were reported to have favoured taking action against unauthorized houses of worship. Moreover, 68 percent of students favoured damaging the houses or facilities of members of deviant sects (Azhar, 2014). Besides that, radical and intolerant ideologies were also reported to have been propagated in some reputable state universities in throughout the nation (Abdi, 2019) and Bogor Agricultural University was one of them. Therefore, a study needs to be conducted to find out how intolerance is practiced by the school students in Bogor.

In understanding one's intolerant behavior, it is important to take a full picture of a person's level of intolerance and focus on how one interacts with others. In this research, interactions will be seen in terms of religious and ethnic-regional differences. Young people aged 15 to 19 will be objects of this analysis. Furthermore, at this young age, a teenager is biologically, psychologically, and sociologically still in the process of transition to adulthood (Nugraha, 2012). Several academic studies show that intolerant behavior arises in the adolescent phase because at this stage the formation of identity occurs (Puspitawati, 2006). At this young age, they are not yet psychologically mature and tend to be easily influenced by older people (Qodir, 2016). Alius (2019) also argued that facilities provided by internet and immaturity were two main causes why young people engage in intolerant and radical actions. Therefore, the formation of young people's attitudes and behaviour cannot be separated from the systems around them. These systems which then, both directly and indirectly, affect their attitudes and behavior.

This article will focus on investigating (1) the characteristics of school students living in the village, (2) their attitudes or tendency to perform intolerance, and (3) how intolerance is performed by students of regular based schools and religious based schools.

Research Methodology

In this study, descriptive-correlational survey and probability random sampling are utilized to elaborate the phenomenon being observed. The result is expected to be able to give a clear description about how intolerance is practiced by the school students in *Sukamaju* Village. The research was conducted in March until August 2019. 142 students of regular and religious based schools were taken as samples in this research. The primary data were collected from the questionnaires while the secondary data were collected from journals, general reports, and other relevant sources. In addition, cultural studies perspective is applied to critically elaborate the bigger context of the object being observed and examine how culture and power relates to each other (Barker, 2000).

The qualitative data will be elaborated through descriptive analysis to identify the respondents' characteristics and attitude toward intolerance. The average score analysis will be taken to identify the level of tolerance. The quantitative data will be analyzed using inferential statistics to examine the hypothesis. Inferential analysis will be used to partially understand which human ecological system that can potentially shape young people's intolerant attitude and behavior. Furthermore, it can also be used to identify the level of intolerance between students of regular schools and students of religious based schools. Due to research ethics and sensitive issue, the real name of village will not be revealed and will be changed into another name, *Sukamaju*. Another ethical reason is because the tourism business in the area is now being developed to improve their economic sector.

Population and Sample

Population is a group or collection of people having similar characteristics and living at a particular area (Singarimbun, 2008). The population in this study are school students aged 15 to 19. In this productive age, they have an authority to make decisions. In general, there are 1.427 teenagers living in the area, but only those studying at schools located in the village are going to be chosen as targeted population.

Sample is a group of people or objects taken as the representative of the population. Probability random sampling method is utilized to take samples of population in this research. According to Neuman, 10 percent of population consisting of more than 1000 and less than 10.000 people can be taken as sample. Table 1 explains the sample of the population taken (Neuman, 1997).

Table 1. Research Sample

Vil	lage	Total Population(person)	Targeted Population (in person)	Research Sample(in person)
Suk	kamaju	1.427	1427	142

Research Theory

The key concepts of attitudes and intolerance will be elaborated. The context and characteristics' of the village will also be presented in the research to understand how intolerance is practiced.

Attitude

Rakmat offers multiple definitions of attitude (Rakmat, 2005). First, it refers to the tendency to act, perceive, think and feel towards an object, idea, situation, or value. One's attitude is actually the tendency to act in certain ways to face an object of things, people, places, ideas, situations, or values. Second, it has a driving force as it will determine whether an individual is against or in favor of an idea. Third, it is relatively more settled. Numerous studies have identified that collective political attitude tend to be maintained and rarely changed. Fourth, it contains evaluative aspects, pleasant or unpleasant. Fifth, it is not innate and is influenced by the past experience or socially constructed. Therefore, it can be either strengthened or changed.

According to Walgito, there are three components constructing the structure of attitude (Walgito, 2003). First, cognitive/perceptual component which is related to knowledge, perception, or faith. Second, affective/emotional component which is related to a state where an individual is against or in favor of object of attitude. Third, connotative/behavioral component which is related to one's tendency toward an object of attitude.

Attitudes can be changed in various ways. One's knowledge attitude component can be changed after he or she receives information from direct interaction with people or mass-media. When all components of attitude tend to be consistent, the change of cognitive component will be reflected either to the affective component or to conative component. In addition, direct experience can also change one's attitude towards an object (Triandis, 1971).

Suranto (1999) stated that there are four major factors which determine one's attitude. First, the psychological factor which includes one's age (Suranto, 1999). In general, people at young age tend to be more radical than adults. Second, factor of experience can influence one's attitude. Those having bad experiences in the past tend to avoid similar experiences. Third, referential factor which determine whether a person will show their negative or positive attitude towards an object. Fourth, the factor of communication. One's attitude can change after having a direct communication with others or consuming information from the mass media.

In general, Walgito (2003) states that there are multiple ways to measure one's attitude. In a direct way, it is divided into two different categories, which are a directly structured way and a directly structured way. In a directly unstructured way, one's attitude can be measured through free interview, direct observation, or survey. Meanwhile, in a directly structured way, it can be done by giving the well-structured questions to respondents.

Intolerance

According to general principles of United Nations article three in 1981, intolerance is considered as a form of Human Rights violation. Djafar (2018) concluded that intolerance and discrimination are

mostly intertwined and both words suggest an act of discriminating or treating other people differently based on religion or faith. It can potentially lead to Human Rights violation. According to European Commission, intolerance occurs when an individual or a group are not willing to accept people from other ethnicities, minority groups, or those having opposing political orientation. Abdurakhman (2017) states that in moderate Islam intolerance will not occur if the Islamic verse *lkum dinukum waliyadin* (your religion is yours and my religion is mine) is practised in the diverse or pluralistic society. Therefore, in the purpose of building peace and tolerance, people have to respect diversity.

Burhani (2019) argues that intolerance is dangerous because ideologically it can potentially gain collective affection rather than cognition. Therefore, an intolerant person is not able to improve their critical thinking and is difficult to accept differences. To a certain extent, intolerance can potentially mobilise people to create hostility towards people from other cultural backgrounds (Burhani, 2019). In the context of Indonesia, Burhani states that at least there are three major factors why the government should prevent intolerance. Firstly, studies and surveys conducted by Indonesian Conference on Religion for Peace, Setara Institute, Wahid Institute, and Ma'arif institute reported that religious discriminations and violence in Indonesia are constantly increasing. Secondly, there is a growing public intolerance that can potentially trigger the social conflicts. Thirdly, the majority is disappointed with the government policy and laws which fails to maintain religious freedom and confront intolerance. Ironically, in several cases alleged perpetrators (those committing Human Rights violations) are not sentenced while the victims of religious intolerance are often criminalised.

Result and Discussion

This research was conducted in *Sukamaju* Village (unreal name) located in Bogor. The majority is 100 percent Muslims and the Islamic culture and atmosphere have become entrenched and deep-rooted in the society. Most people living in the village work as farmers. Before 2005, there weren't any formal senior high schools found in the village. Therefore, most of people are dominated by elementary and junior high school graduates. Senior high schools were built in the village in 2005 and 2011. Besides that, there are three *pesantren* (Islamic boarding schools) found in the village. In addition, there are two types of *pesantren*, the modern one and the conservative one which refuses the advancement of technology and science.

This research will investigate how intolerance is practised by school students in *Sukamaju* Village, therefore, the background information of the characteristics of young people and schools in the village will be elaborated in details. There are two types of schools in the village, regular and religious based schools. The regular schools apply the national curriculum designed by the Ministry of Education and Culture while the religious based ones apply curriculum from either Ministry of Education and Culture and Ministry of Religious Affairs. Religious based schools apply 70 percent of the national curriculum and 30 percent of religious knowledge while the regular ones only give a two-hour religious class in a week. Table 2 below presents the data of school types and the number of respondents in the village.

Table 2. Type of Schools and the Number of Respondents

Type of School	Frequency	Percent (%)
Religious Based Junior High School	35	24.6
Regular High School	37	26.1
Regular Vocational High School	39	27.5
Religious Based Senior High School	31	21.8
Total	142	100.0

Religious based schools have more students than regular ones. Based on the information given by the Head of the Village, it is because the majority is 100 percent Muslims and Islamic culture is very deep rooted. Historically there are two types of Islamic adherents in the village, *Muhammadiyyah* and *Nahdatul Ulama* (NU). Both groups live together in harmony and coexist. Additionally, many parents embracing Islamic teachings by *Nahdatul Ulama* send their children to Muhammadiyah schools.

The age of the respondents will also be provided in this research. Table 3 presents the data of respondents' age. Based on the table below, the respondents in this research are students aged 15 (33.1 percent), 16 (33.0 percent), 17 (18,3 percent), 14 (14.1 percent), 18 (2.1 percent), and 13 (1.4 percent).

Table 3. The Data of Respondents by Age.

Age (Year)	Frequency (Person)	Percent (100%)
13	2	1.4
14	20	14.1
15	47	33.1
16	44	31.0
17	26	18.3
18	3	2.1
Total	142	100.0

Of the whole adolescents living in the village, there are about 76 students of senior high schools (53.3 percent), 66 students of junior high schools (46.5 percent). Based on the interview with the Secretary of the Village, not until 2005 there were no senior high schools built in the area. Therefore, most of young people decided not to continue to senior high schools. Table 4 presents the data of respondents by their level of education.

Table 4. Data of Respondents by Level of Education

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Level of Education	Frequency (person)	Percent (person)					
Junior High School/Equivalent	66	46.5					
Senior High School/Equavalent	76	53.5					
Total	142	100.00					

Accroding to Hurlock (2011) in Nugraha (2012), late adolescents can be characterized from the psychological and physical aspects where they begin to be emotionally stabilized, the ability to think realistically, set up their emotional management, and deal with problems and their constant sexual identity.

How Intolerance is Practiced by Adolescents

The school students' attitude of *Sukamaju* Village will be analysed by focusing on their interactions with non-Muslim friends and ethnicities. However, this study will focus more on interactions with non-Muslim friends.

Affection (Attitude) towards Interaction with non-Muslim Friends

Since these school studens live in the area where the majority is 100 percent Muslims, their interactions with non-Muslim friends will result in various obstacles and reactions. Table 5 explains the adolescents' affection towards interaction with non-Muslim friends.

Table 5. Adolescents Affection towards Interaction with non-Muslim

Type of School	Interaction Aspects with Non-Muslim						
	Playing with Friends	Visiting Friends	Electing a Non-Muslim leader	Having a discussion	Receiving Inputs		
School (Total)	2.61	2.95	2.53	3.07	2.83		
Religious School	2.63	3.00	2.46	2.96	2.76		
Regular School	2.69	2.98	2.61	3.18	2.92		
Religious Junior High School	2.39	2.86	2.45	3.09	2.67		
Religious Senior High School	2.79	3.03	2.59	3.05	2.97		
Regular Junior High School	2.39	2.84	2.52	3.29	2.74		
Regular Senior High School	2.74	2.95	2.67	3.10	3.03		

From table 5 it can be concluded that in general they are tolerant, but less tolerant in some aspects including playing with non-Muslim friends, electing the non-Muslim head of student's association, and receiving opinions from non-Muslim friends, however, in some other aspects such as having a discussion and visiting non-Muslim friends, they tend to be tolerant. In short, they tend to be less tolerant in decision-making aspect. According to Brofenbrenner (1991) in Nugraha (2012, 2015). There are main factors that can shape one's person attitude, such as parents, peers, and mass-media. In this study, peers or friends play an integral role in influencing their ideas or attitudes towards the object of attitude.

The Tendency of Adolescents to Interact with Non-Muslim Friends

In this study school students' behaviour when interacting with non-Muslim friends will be identified through several aspects which shows behavioural tendencies towards non-Muslim friends, such as interacting, visiting, electing the class leader, having a discussion, and receiving opinions. In general, it is found that they are still willing to interact with non-Muslim friends, except in some aspects such as electing the leader of students' association and playing with non-Muslim friends. Table 6 shows their tendency to interact with non-Muslim friends.

Table 6. Adolescents' Tendency to Interact with Non-Muslim Friends

	Interaction Aspects with Non-Muslim Friends						
Type of School	Playing with Friends	Visiting Friends	Electing a Leader of Students' Association	Having a Discussion	Receiving Inputs		
School (Total)	2.33	2.64	2.48	2.69	2.62		
Religious School	2.28	2.56	2.43	2.57	2.57		
Regular School	2.38	2.72	2.53	2.76	2.66		
Religious Junior High School	2.18	2.58	2.39	2.64	2.55		
Religious Senior High School	2.35	2.62	2.41	2.59	2.54		
Regular Junior High School	2.16	2.68	2.32	2.74	2.48		
Regular Senior High School	2.59	2.79	2.72	2.90	2.85		

From the table above, the risk of being less tolerant appears in some aspects such as visiting non-Muslim friends, discussing with non-Muslim friends, and accepting inputs from non-Muslim friends. This occurs because the majority of the village is 100 percent Muslims. Therefore, these young people are lack of direct contact and communication with people from outside the area.

Tolerance Affection between Regular Schools and Religious Based Schools

This study also aims to identify how the affection of tolerance in regular schools differ from religious based schools. There are two regular schools and two religious based schools in the village. Table 7 reveals that students of regular schools have tendency to be more tolerant than those of religious based schools.

Table 7. Tolerance Affection between Regular Schools and Religious Based Schools

	Affection Components in Interaction with Non-Muslim Friends							
Type of School	Playing with Friends	Visiting Friends	Electing a Leader of Students' Association	Having a Discussion	Receiving Inputs			
Religious Schools	2.63	3.00	2.46	2.96	2.76			
Regular Schools	2.69	2.98	2.61	3.18	2.92			

In table 7, it can be concluded that students of regular based schools are at risk of being less tolerant in some aspects such as playing with non-Muslim friends, and electing a leader of students' association. On the contrary, students of religious based schools are at risk of being less tolerant when playing with non-Muslim friends and receiving inputs from non-Muslim friends. Furthermore, they become less tolerant when having to elect a non-Muslim leader of students' association. From the interview with one of the school teachers in the village, the tendency of being less tolerant occurs in religious based schools as the case of Ahok's blasphemy was often brought to an open discussion during the lessons.

Tolerance Affection Based on Education Level

The level of education plays a pivotal role in shaping the adolescents' knowledge, attitude, and skills. In this study, it is found that there were significant differences in attitudes towards interaction with non-Muslim friends between students of junior high schools and senior high schools.

Table 8. The Differences of Attitude towards Interaction with Non-Muslim Friends between Junior High Schools and Senior High Schools.

Type of Schools	Interaction Aspects with non-Muslim Friends						
	Playing with Friends	Visiting Friends	Electing a Leader of Students' Association	Having a Discussion	Receiving Inputs		
Religious-based Junior High School	2.39	2.86	2.45	3.09	2.67		
Religious-based Senior High School	2.79	3.03	2.59	3.05	2.97		
Regular Junior High School	2.39	2.84	2.52	3.29	2.74		
Regular Senior High School	2.74	2.95	2.67	3.10	3.03		

From table 8 above, it can be seen that students of senior high schools have the tendency to be more tolerant than those of junior high schools. Students of Senior High School are tolerant in some aspects such as visiting non-Muslim friends and having a discussion with non-Muslim friends, but they are at risk of being less tolerant when playing with non-Muslim friends and electing a non-Muslim leader of students' association. On the contrary, students of junior high school are at risk of being less tolerant in several aspects such as playing with non-Muslim friends, visiting non-Muslim friends, and receiving inputs from non-Muslim friends. Meanwhile, they tend to be tolerant when having a discussion with non-Muslim friends. Psychologically, students of junior high schools are middle teens aged between 13 and 15. At this age, they tend to be influenced more easily by the surrounding social system, specifically in terms of religion.

Differences of School Students' Tendency to Act Based on Type of School

This study also aims to identify the comparison of tolerance behavior between students of religious-based schools and regular schools. Basically, the findings are relatively similar to the previous ones.

Table 9. School Students' Tendency to Act Based on School Types

Types of School	Interaction Aspects with Non-Muslim Friends						
	Playing with Friends	Visiting Friends	Electing a Leader of Students' Association	Having a Discussion	Receiving Inputs		
Religous School	2.28	2.56	2.43	2.57	2.57		
Regular School	2.38	2.72	2.53	2.76	2.66		

As seen in table 9, in the aspect of interacting with non-Muslim friends, students of religious based schools are less tolerant than those of regular schools. Specifically, students of religious-based schools tend to be less tolerant in some aspects such as playing with non-Muslim friends and electing a non-Muslim leader of students' association. Meanwhile, students or regular schools are less tolerant when playing with non-Muslim friends and at risk of being less tolerant in other aspects.

Comparison of Adolescents' Behavior in Interacting with Non-Muslim Friends Based on Levels of Education

The level of education plays an important role in shaping adolescents' knowledge, attitudes, and skills. This study indicated the differences in the behavior of adolescents in interacting with non-Muslim friends between students of junior high school and senior high school. From table 10, it can be seen that, both students of secondary schools are less tolerant when interacting with non-Muslim friends. Such intolerant behavior occurs in aspects of playing with non-Muslim friends and electing a non-Muslim leader of students' association.

Table 10. Adolescent Tendency to Act Based on Levels of Education

Types of School	Interaction Aspects with Non-Muslim friends						
	Playing with Friends	Visiting Friends	Electing a Leader of Students' Association	Having a Discussion	Receiving Inputs		
Religious Junior High School	2.18	2.58	2.39	2.64	2.55		
Religious Senior High School	2.35	2.62	2.41	2.59	2.54		
Regular Junior High School	2.16	2.68	2.32	2.74	2.48		
Regular Senior High School	2.59	2.79	2.72	2.90	2.85		

From table 10 above, it can be concluded that both students of secondary school are at risk of having less tolerant behavior in interacting with non-Muslim friends. However, if examined further, students of junior high school a tend to be less tolerant than those of senior high school. It is because students of senior high school have already interacted with a lot of social agents having the potential to form the construction of interaction with non-Muslim friends such as parents, peer group, television, and social media. As a result, they tend to have more knowledge about interaction with non-Muslim friends.

Students of junior high school are lack of main social agents who can shape their ideas. Their interactions are still limited to people at schools and parents. In addition, in the context of this village, where all people are 100 percent Muslims, they do not have any direct experience in interacting with non-Muslims. The idea of dealing with non-Muslims are obtained from parents, friends, and mass-media.

Conclusion

Numerous studies have identified that intolerance is practised in West Java, specifically in Bogor. In addition, young people were also reported to have been involved in several intolerant actions. Based on the study conducted in *Sukamaju* Village, Bogor, affectively students living in the village are generally tolerant, but are vulnerably less tolerant in several aspects, including playing with non-Muslim friends, electing a non-Muslim leader of students' association, accepting feedbacks from non-Muslim friends. However, affectively they tend to be tolerant in some aspects such as having a discussion and visiting non-Muslim friends.

For the component of the tendency to act, they tend to be less tolerant towards the issue of playing with non-Muslim friends and electing a non-Muslim leader of students' association. Additionally, they tend to be at the risk of being less tolerant when having a discussion, receiving feedbacks, and visiting non-Muslim friends. Briefly, it can be concluded that for the affective component, students of religious based schools are less tolerant in some aspects including electing a non-Muslim leader of students' association, and receiving feedbacks from non-Muslim friends. Furthermore, in aspects of tendency to act, students of regular schools tend to be more tolerant than those of religious based schools. The students of religious based schools tend to be less tolerant when playing with non-Muslim friends and electing a non-Muslim leader.

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